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ABSTRACT

An historical perspective of the education of Minnesota Indians until 1934 is provided in terms of (1) the function of the missionary, (2) the federal period--including the mission contract period, reactionary policy, and new direction and money--and the 20th century, and (3) the Minnesota Indians and state public school education. Demographic data, 3 population maps, and a bibliography are included. (MJB)

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THE FORMAL EDUCATION OF MINNESOTA INDIANS:

HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE UNTIL 1934

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HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE UNTIL 1934

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THE FORMAL EDUCATION OF MINNESOTA INDIANS:
HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE UNTIL 1934

The Function of the Missionary

Whenever one investigates American Indian history one always comes across the missionary. He is inevitably referred to in early writings about Indians. Because the missionaries were usually among the first white individuals who made contact among the Indians, their diaries, books and other writings represent much of our first hand information concerning the American Indian. However, the missionaries' ever-presence among the Indians was not simply to provide later generations with a knowledge of the people with whom they worked. Their primary objective was the conversion of the Indian to Christianity.

Though missionaries were among both the Chippewa and Dakota from the early 1600's, these first missionaries mainly accompanied expeditions and had little time or resources to direct a concentrated missionary effort much less a concentrated educational effort. The important missionary period in Minnesota encompasses the dates 1820 to 1870. This represents a period of concentrated effort on the part of the missionary to convert the Indian to Christianity in Minnesota.

The Chippewa's history in the state of Minnesota is considerably different than that of the Dakota. This is particularly true with respect to experiences with the missionary.

The Chippewa are relatively new to Minnesota as compared to the Dakota, having pushed the Dakota from Northern Minnesota during the 18th century, thus dividing the state culturally and ecologically. An account of this is graphically given in Warren's Notes on the Chippewa.[1]

The important factor in this movement was the role of fur trade in giving the Chippewa the motivation and methods to effectively carry out the domination of Northern Minnesota. The fur trade required animals which were exchanged by the Chippewa for various items of the white material culture. During the 18th century fur-bearing animals were becoming increasingly scarce in areas to the east of Minnesota, where the Chippewa and other tribes had depleted the supply. However, in Minnesota fur-bearing animals remained plentiful. The fur traders provided the Chippewa with guns and ammunition which made hunting easier, and as the Dakota found out, also made the securing of Northern Minnesota as Chippewa domain an easier task. Warren states, "Ojibway now incited also by the fur trade, which procured them the much coveted commodities of the whites, followed closely on the tracks of their retreating enemies and occupied their best hunting grounds."[2]

The influence fur trade had upon Chippewa culture was considerable. It produced a direct effect on the reception that the missionaries' religion and education had among the Chippewa. The fur trade had changed native Chippewa culture from a rather self-sufficient hunting and gathering complex with loose political institutions to a culture dependent on the intrusive white culture. The economic tie was strong. Hunting was no longer a method to procure primarily food. Hunting for the Chippewa became, after white contact, primarily a method to obtain the needed furs in order to procure the "much coveted commodities of the white."[3]

The Chippewa, before the trade, were a loosely scattered group lacking in political cohesion due to the necessity of working in small groups (bands) with some distance between. The fur trade drew these widely scattered bands together and created another criterion for leadership--that is, the possession of large amounts of trade goods.[4]

The concentrated missionary and educational period (1820-1870) among the Chippewa in Minnesota was largely dependent on the fur trade.

The large fur trade centers at La Pointe, Wisconsin and at Fond du Lac, and Grand Portage in Minnesota--with huge dependent Chippewa populations --became centers of Indian Mission work. The Missions at these centers between 1830 and 1866 were Catholic. The "Black Robes," as the Chippewa termed the Catholic priests, had much success. Thus, Catholic priests were the first missionaries to be among the Chippewa, and they remain with them today. Instruction was unified and elementary and it was accompanied with ceremonial procedures. The missions, along with their schools, were well attended and the conversion rate was high.[5]

The Black Robes were able to accept the rather marginal manifestations of religion which occurred as the result of the Indian adoption of Christianity. This is in sharp contrast to the Protestant missionaries, contemporary with the Catholics, who were unable to accept a Chippewa version of Christianity.[6]

The Protestant missionaries, with their rigid, austere sort of religion, lacking in ceremonialism, had little success at first. This lack of success can be related to their attitude and point of attack. Because the Catholics occupied the large trade centers and dealt mainly with French-Indian mixed bloods, the Protestants had little choice but to go directly to the satellite dependent Indian villages of the large fur trade centers at Sandy Lake, Yellow Lake and Leech Lake. But the missions in these spots were unable to maintain themselves and they were abandoned. Subsequently, progress was made at Lake Pokegama (though conversion was slow) because Protestant efforts became concentrated at that point. Finally, Lake Pokegama was abandoned after a Dakota attack destroyed the mission in 1841. By 1851 practically all the Protestant mission stations had been discontinued.[7]

Rev. James Lloyd Breck, an Episcopal missionary, set up St. Columba Mission and School at Gull Lake in 1852, but this was destroyed by the Dakota in connection with the outbreak in 1862.[8]

The missionaries introduced bi-lingual education among the people with whom they worked. However, they worked with a very insignificant portion of the total Indian population and consequently had little effect on the educational level of the total population. It was not until a series of land cessions and subsequent concentration of Chippewa population had occurred that Missionaries were able to attempt the education of a larger Indian population.

The introduction of the Protestant Missions among the Chippewa and Dakota and the stepped-up activity of the Catholic missionaries among the Chippewa occurred at about the same time that there were federal appropriations for Indian schools to be conducted by "various churches and associations through Missionary work". Between July 15, 1820 and June 15, 1870, $100,000 had been appropriated, though only $10,000 was appropriated by Congress per year until 1850.[9] This money was divided among Missionaries working with tribes who had no money set aside by treaties for educational purposes. It appears that Missionaries among the Minnesota Chippewa received none of this money. (The Missionary work among the Chippewa was largely supported by the American Board of Foreign Missions and the Catholic Church.)

In a letter to Rev. J. P. Bardwell, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Mr. O. Brown on January 22, 1850, denied funds to aid in sustaining missionary operations and schools among the Chippewa.

> Sir:
> I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 17th inst, in relation to Missionary operations and schools among the Chippewa Indians of Red Lake, Cass Lake and Lake Winnepec; and enquiring whether some portion of the fund appropriated for the civilization of Indians cannot be spared to aid in sustaining those efforts.
> The Department cannot but regard with interest all such undertakings for the melioration and improvement of the conditions of the Indian race within our borders; and it has frequently taken occasion, in its public and published reports, to bear strong and unequivocal testimony, to the

value of the disinterested efforts of the Missionaries of our various religious denominations in this interesting and philanthropic field of enterprise. Its means of aiding to sustain such efforts, have however been very limited. Beyond the funds set apart in Indian treaties for education and improvement, among particular tribes comparatively few in number, it has had at its disposal only ten thousand dollars annually to be applied for the benefit of all the various tribes wholly without any means of their own for the purpose. That fund has been divided as equitably among different denominations, and for the benefit of as many of the different tribes, as circumstances would admit, but there have been many applications for portions of it, appealing strongly, as does yours, to the sympathy and good feeling of the Department, which could not be met. And there is reason to fear, that in consequence of the small sums into which it has had to be divided, and the manner in which they have necessarily been applied, but a small amount of good has been accomplished compared with the large sum which has thus been expended since the creation of the fund.

The experience of the last few years has demonstrated to the satisfaction of the Department that the most effectual and successful plan for improving the intellectual and moral condition of our Indians, is through the instrumentality of Manual Labor Schools, placed in charge of Missionary Societies, and under the general supervision of the Department. Hence all the educational funds of the different tribes, are, as far as possible, being now so applied; and this will be the policy of the Department hereafter with reference to all such funds, as well as the general appropriation for the civilization of Indians; so far as it can be so used, without doing injustice to societies now drawing portions of it, and who have made expenditures and based their operations on the expectation of those portions being continued to them. It is intended to make this disposition of the balance now on hand, so soon as the Department can further inform itself in relation to the relative situation of different destitute tribes, and those among whom its expenditure would be attended with the greatest amount of good. This enquiry will embrace the Indians referred to in your communication and a respectful consideration given to your application; and this after more particular enquiry and further reflection since our first interview, and with every disposition to comply with your wishes, is all I am prepared now to say upon the subject. I may add, however, that the Depart-

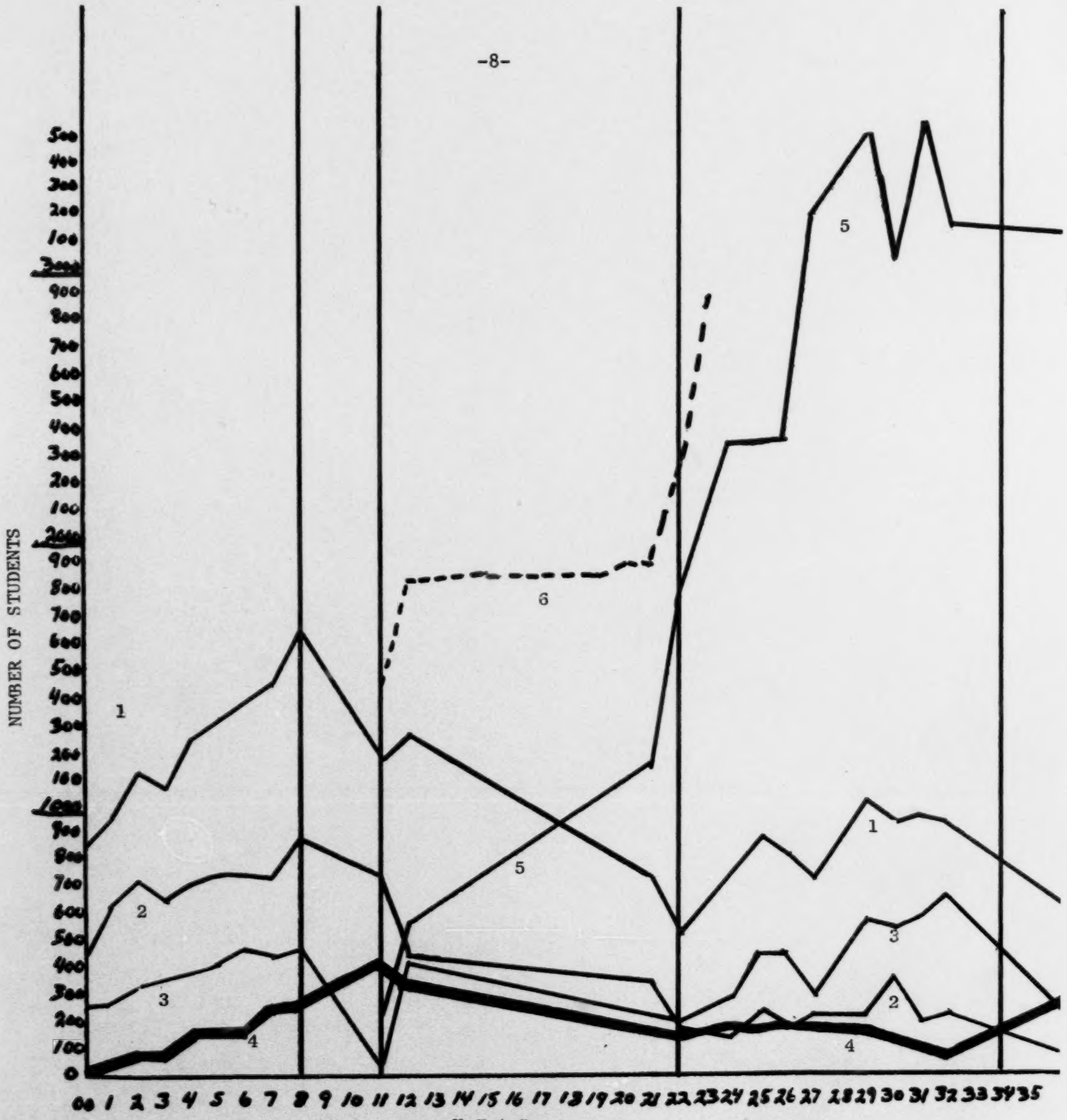
ment contemplates some negotiations with the upper Chippewas during the present year, and that in doing this, and in removing those now living on the lands heretofore ceded by them, to their own country, with the transfer of the Agency from Lake Superior to the Mississippi, an effort will be made to concert arrangements for improving the condition of the tribe generally--embracing every portion and band of it.

It is hoped that Congress will at this cession [sic] grant the urgent application that has been made to it for an increase of the fund, for the improvement of the Indians, from ten to fifty thousand dollars, and thus enable the Department, with the cooperation of our Missionary societies, to extend the benefits of education in letters, agriculture, and the mechanic arts, combined with proper instruction in Christian truth, to many of the tribes now wholly destitute.[10]

During the 19th century treaties were signed with the Chippewa in Minnesota, which directed that a certain amount of the money received by the Chippewa must be spent for educational purposes. These treaties were The Treaty With the Chippewa of the Mississippi and Lake Superior 1847, Art 3; Treaty with the Chippewa 1854, Art 4; and Treaty with the Chippewa of the Mississippi 1867, Art 3.[11] These treaties had a dual effect on the education of the Chippewa Indian, for they not only directed that certain monies gained in the land transactions must be spent on education but also reduced the land size and they concentrated the Chippewa population onto small reservations throughout northern Minnesota. These circumstances made a unified approach to the education of the Chippewa feasible.

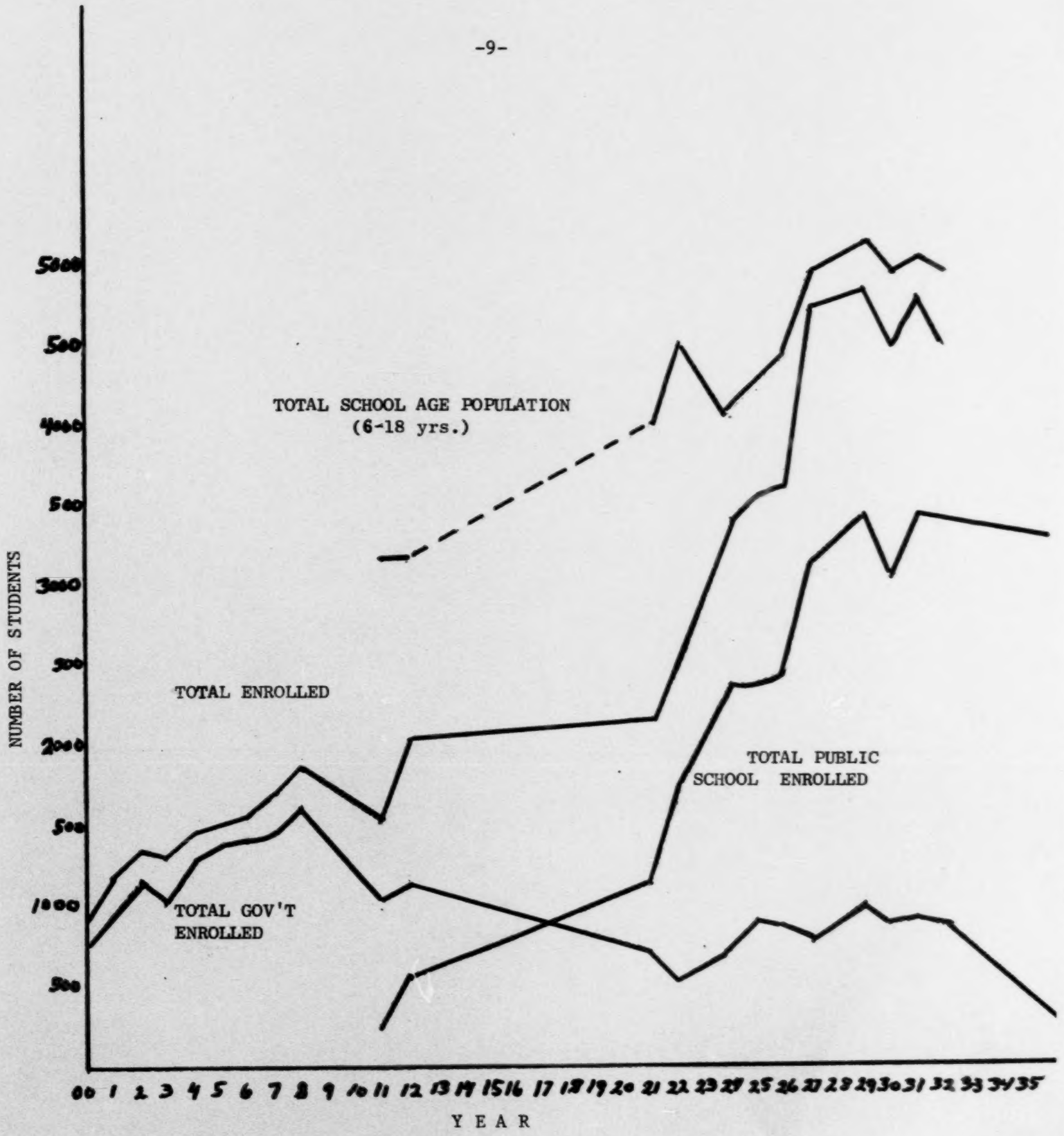
Two laws also were passed in the 19th century which were to have an effect on the trend Chippewa education was to take in the 20th century. The laws were the Dawes Act of 1887, which alotted all reservation lands except those at Red Lake, and Chapter 25, 15 Congress, 2nd Session 1889 -"An Act for the Relief and Civilization of the Chippewa Indian in the State of Minnesota."[12]

* Red Lake
(Cath.)
*Lake Pokegawna
(Prot.)
*Leech Lake
(Prot.)
*Sandy Lake (Prot.)
*Gull Lake
(Episcopal)
*Crow Wing
(Cath.)
*
Grand
Portage
(Cath.)
* Fond du Lac
(Cath.)
(Prot.)
Yellow Lake
(Prot.)
Chippewa and Sioux boundary line, 1825
Major Mission Locations
among the Chippewa,
1820 - 1870



1) Total Gov't Enrolled
2) Total Reservation Boarding School Enrolled
3) Total Non-Reservation Boarding School Enrolled
4) Total Day School Enrolled
5) Total Public School Enrolled
6) Total Gov't and Public School Enrolled

INDIAN STUDENT ENROLLMENT BY SCHOOL SITUATION 1900-1935



TOTAL INDIAN STUDENT ENROLLMENTS TO TOTAL SCHOOL AGE POPULATION 1900-1935

The repercussions of the Dawes Act in terms of Chippewa education will be explained more fully in Part II; however, it is necessary to note here that the Dawes Act brought whites and their schools into the midst of Chippewas on alotted reservations. The 1889 "Relief and Civilization Act" (Chapter 25, 15 Congress, 2nd Session 1889) provided in part for large sums of money to be spent on the education of the Chippewa Indian under the condition that all Chippewas of the Mississippi not yet on reservations be removed and alotted land on the White Earth Reservation to conform with the Alottment Act of 1887.[13]

The Federal Period

The Federal Period of Indian Education in the state of Minnesota is a difficult period to describe and understand. Theoretically, the Federal Government had control of Indian education from 1870, when it repealed the March 3, 1819 Act authorizing Mission societies to run Indian Education, until 1934 when the Johnson-O'Malley Act gave control of Indian education to the states.

I have broken this sixty-four year period into a series of several sub-periods; these periods were determined primarily through the use of enrollment statistics and statements of purpose by Federal officials at the National and local levels.

The Federal Government Period 1870 - 1934

A. The Mission Contract Period 1870 - 1900

1. 1870 - 1887. Federal Reactionary Policy: Control without Direction or Resources through Mission contracts.

2. 1887 - 1900 New Direction and Money.

B. The 20th century 1900 - 1934

1. Federal Domination (1900 - 1911)

2. State Public School Education and the Minnesota Indian (1911 - 1934)

   a. The Federal-State Interim Period(1911-1922)
   b. State Domination (1922-1934)

Though the government took over control of Indian education in 1870, it was not until 1900 that Federal Indian education was really under way in the state of Minnesota. The 30-year period between 1870 and 1900 represents a period of trial and error, of building and developing facilities to serve Minnesota Indian children and a period (which was national in perspective) of developing an Indian educational philosophy with which to guide the federal Indian school bureaucrats in the 20th century.

Following the Sioux Uprising of 1862, education of Minnesota Indians came to a virtual standstill as missionaries abandoned most of their work. Whether missionaries left mainly because their mission schools were largely destroyed cannot be determined; however, it is clear that the government also was growing impatient with their progress and methods.

Minnesota Indian Agent D. B. Herriman was one of the first to express dissatisfaction with the methods and goals used by missionaries in this state. In 1858 he said:

> Permit me to remark that the government and religious societies have expended vast sums of money in endeavoring to civilize the Indians. To carry out this benefit design, the aid of the schoolmaster has been sought. Books have been printed in the Indian languages; children have been boarded in white families far removed from the Indian country; they have been sent to colleges and other seminaries of training: they have been taken into the families of the missionary, carefully instructed from books, taught by 'percept and example' the benefits of education; buthas one Indian prejudice or superstition been eradicated from their minds, has one custom been changed,

> has one vice been conquered?--the youth from whom much has been expected, from his docile manners, his quick apprehension, retentive memory, and astonishing facility, with which he acquired a knowledge of the English language, of reading, arithmetic, geography, history, etc., suddenly becomes a loathsome drunkard, a proficient gambler, despised alike by his white and red brethren. This is not always the case, but it is in ninety-nine out of every hundred; the book educated Indian is the most dissipated among them.[14]

In addressing himself to the role of missionary education, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1899 states:

> That they did good work goes without saying, as these godly people had the welfare of the Indian at heart, but results have since indicated that such a system was not adequate for producing lasting results.[15]

Of course, missionary efforts were not all encompassing, and many Indian people were not reached by mission educational activity. The dissatisfaction with missionary education thus arose from its failure to reach most of the Indian population and from its approach to "civilizing" Indians. Controversy over mission education centered around two foci: the definition of civilization (and, consequently, the method of civilization training) and the need to civilize the population group as a whole.

The fact that the Federal government took control did little to solve these basic questions of how to "civilize" the Indian and how to make this have an effect on the total Indian population. As the government picked up the scattered remnants of Indian education in the state of Minnesota in the 1870's they had to deal largely with a population who had received no anglo-oriented education at all and a population which was still scattered to a large extent over Minnesota, though considerably more concentrated than in the 1820's.

In 1874 it was estimated that only 110 Chippewa individuals knew how to read English, though this figure is based on only those Chippewa located at White Earth, Leech Lake and Red Lake. The inclusion of other Chippewas probably would not increase the figure much due to their remoteness and lack of contact.[16]

The Mission Contract Period

The period from 1870 - 1900 is really a developmental period. In terms of educational philosophy, the government through its employees, had to develop first, a realization of whether the Indian could be educated and second, what direction this education should take. It is interesting to note that school supervisors and Indian Commissioners, when addressing themselves to the education of the Minnesota Indian during the period between 1870 and 1887, often mentioned both points within the same document. The agent at White Earth states in 1876:

> The Indian is as susceptible of acquiring an education, if an opportunity is afforded, as his brother the paleface--the question of civilization of Indians has been an open one for years, and seems to be the same for many yet, but with me it is not so. I believe it would be very much better for Indians in Minnesota if the Government would settle them all down on this reserve and give them teams and farm equipment.[17]

The agent of Red Lake in 1876 stated:

> Chief among the obstacles to rapid civilization of the Indian may be his unwillingness to labor. Accustomed to the idea that labor is degrading and only fit for women, it requires time and patience to awaken in him a truer ideal of life.[18]

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1887 stated:

> It is apparent that we have advanced far enough in education of Indian children to be able to say what for a time was an experiment no longer admits with uncertainty. The Indian can be educated equally with the white or colored man.[19]

The development of school facilities during this period was extremely slow; it indicated a government desire to avoid a huge building program. Between 1870 and 1887, there were only three boarding schools and one day school built having 295 students enrolled. By 1887 the government schools in Minnesota had a total enrollment of 295 students. What is interesting is the development of mission schools under government contract. These schools in 1887 had an enrollment of 403 students. They were located primarily in small towns throughout northern Minnesota, and were primarily Catholic. The Federal government found it much less expensive to carry out the education of Indians through mission support. In effect, this meant that the mission schools built and supplied these schools, while the government simply paid for pupil costs each year. These mission schools did make one concession to government philosophy in that most of these second generation mission schools emphasized manual training.[20]

In these mission schools an effort was made to "train the boys in such trades as carpentry, shoe repairing, tailoring, while girls received instruction in needle work, cooking, and household management. The ardent hope was that the natives thus trained would promote more stable activities among the Indians living to the North.[21]

Below is a list of schools in operation in 1887 and 1890:

	Enrolled	
1887 government		
White Earth Boarding	110	
Leech Lake Boarding	55	
Red Lake Boarding	95	
Rice River Boarding	35	
		295
Contract		
St. Benedicts Orphan Boarding	27	
Avoca, St. Francis Xavier Academy	50	
Clontarf, St. Paul's Industrial	108	
Collegeville, St. John Institute	102	
Graceville, Convent of Our Lady	16	
St. Joseph: St. Benedicts Academy	100	22
	403	

1890 Government	
White Earth Boarding	139
Leech Lake Boarding	56
Red Lake Boarding	58
Contract	
St. Benedict's Orphan Boarding	25
Red Lake Boarding	50
Cass Lake Boarding	30
Leech Lake Boarding	104
Pine Point Boarding	62
Wild Rice River Boarding	63
Avoca; St. Francis Xavier Academy	56
Graceville; Convent of Our Lady	52
Morris; Sisters of Mercy	58
Birch Cooley Day	27
Contract & Special Appropriations	
Clontarf; St. Paul Industrial	103
Collegeville; St. John Institute	65
St. Joseph; St. Benedict's Academy	68

[23]

Federal Reactionary Policy

The government schools between 1870 and 1887 were floundering and fighting for existence. The Federal government came into the Minnesota Indian educational world before it had anticipated a clear direction for the education of Indians. Of course, without such clarity, bureaucratic functioning was nearly impossible. Consequently, the very people whom the government reacted against in setting up a Federal government Indian school system, were called upon to implement Federal education programs until the 1900's. These government schools were severely hampered by lack of direction and lack of money. The agent of Leech Lake in 1876 reported with regard to schools:

> Here we have been crippled in a vital point. The correspondence of the Commissioner emphasized his estimate of the prime importance of our educational work. Yet even last year Congress seriously cut down our educational fund, granting only 5/6 of the sum provided for us by treaty.[24]

The agent at Red Lake (in demonstrating the need for a <u>boarding</u> school in 1876) did not use what are generally thought to be traditional government reasons. His sole argument was that his <u>day</u> school pupils "living remote from schools encounter insult and abuse from large ill-mannered boys skulking by the way side."[25]

New Direction and Money

It was not until the Dawes Act of 1887 (Allotment Act) that the government took a stand about the position Indian people should have within the dominant society and, by implication, the direction Indian education should take.

Prior to the Dawes Act, Indians, though no longer being educated as "book" Indians, were not being educated as "farmer" Indians, either. The main emphasis of mission contract schools was in training Indians for a variety of trades.[26]

Though government schools had no real emphasis or direction, farming was taught to boys by running a school garden, and girls were taught domestic skills by aiding women who worked in the schools. Such activities, however, were primarily cost-related in that these activities reduced operating expenses. Because of the low proficiency in the use of the English language, efforts in the classroom were primarily directed at raising English proficiency.[27]

The Dawes Act, by forcing many Minnesota Indians into a 160 acre tract with the express desire that they become farmers, gave the federal government a new direction in the education of Indians.

In commenting on the role of agriculture in "civilizing" the Indian the Superintendant of Indian schools in 1901 states:

> The Indian naturally loves an outdoor life, associated with cattle and horses, and he should be taught to cultivate the allotment the government has given him. Of all the occupations open by any possibility to him that of farming is foremost. No occupation will so soon dispossess the Indian of his nomadic instinct and fix upon him permanancy of habitation as agriculture. Tilling the soil will oblige him to remain in one spot, and the performing of certain duties at proper times of the year will instill into him the necessity for systematic work and for giving attention to details. Furthermore, it will make clear to him

> how much better is the individual ownership of property than the community-ownership plan. To make real advance the Indian must have a home, wherein will center all his interests, hopes, and ambitions. The refining and ennobling influence of family life will be his greatest boon, and a home on a farm is one which will best fill these requirements.[28]

The impact of this direction for Indian education was immense in solving many problems the government schools had before 1887 in Minnesota. For the Government, the Allotment Act and subsequent Act of 1889 provided the direction and resources needed.

The Allotment Act by its design set the goal for Indian "civilization". Once the government determined that Indians should be farmers, education in this direction could be unified and given purpose.

The Act for the Relief and Civilization of the Chippewas of Minnesota has deep roots in the treaty and legal history of the Minnesota Chippewa. Basically, it called for all Chippewa living in small areas not yet ceded to come to White Earth to conform with the General Allottment Act of 1887. Those Chippewas already at White Earth did not like this because it jeopardized their guarantee of 160 acres through "dilution", and those Chippewa who were to be removed didn't like it because they were not to be compensated for their present lands. As a result, a large sum of money and other compensations were provided to the Minnesota Chippewa in an effort to settle fears and claims. For education a sizable fund was provided for the "establishment and maintenance of free schools among the Chippewa."[29]

It would be many years before this would be a concerted educational effort at the local level. However, by 1890, the Federal government had the necessary ingredients to run a Federal education effort in Minnesota. It is evident that the new direction in Indian education was to come into conflict with the direction of most contract schools. Federal government

disenchantment with the contract school system and this new direction resulted in the almost complete disappearance of mission contract schools by 1900.

On December 14, 1886, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs ordered: "for all schools conducted by missionaries it is required that all instructions shall be given in the English language." On February 2, 1887, the Commissioner re-emphasized his anti-native language policy with the following:

> The rule applies to all schools, mission and government. The instruction of the Indian in the vernacular is not only no use to them but detrimental to the cause of their education and civilization and no school will be permitted on the reservation in which the English language is not exclusively taught.[30]

Though Christianity or Christian principles were not banned in schools, sectarian teaching of religion was. Christianity or the acceptance thereof was a vital component in the Federal government plan to civilize the Indian.[31] However, by 1899 this was not to be done by religious groups in the schools, but by government employees.

> Although sectarian teaching is forbidden in the schools, they are not godless institutions. The broad principles of the Bible, of religion, and morality are taught, and, so far as possible, only strong religious characters are placed in charge of the children. The petty distinctions of creeds are ignored, but all employees are required to lay such a foundation in the hearts and minds of their pupils that the great religious bodies of our country may hereafter build upon it a vigorous and enduring Christian character, the policy of the Indian office on this subject is that outlined in reference to white schools by General Grant, which is 'to afford every child growing up in the land the opportunity to a good tenet,' to instill into the hearts and consciences of its Indian wards religious sentiments, which will tend to the social betterment of their race; to raise the status of their people; to elevate their moral and intellectual standard and awaken them to a higher, a better and a manlier life, to one of upward progress in the development of their self respect and self reliance, so that they may attain their proper place in this modern Christian nation.[32]

For Chippewa Indians in Minnesota this policy was extremely threatening. Most Chippewa in Minnesota were either traditional in religion, or of a Catholic-traditional mix. Though this policy may have been one of lessened religious activity for white Christians, it was one of religious indoctrination for most Indians, including those who had made some religious concessions to Catholic missionaries.

Whether the anti-missionary taste of government policy with regard to teaching methods, use of native language and teaching of religion had an effect on the missionaries' role in Indian education is not directly documented. However, by 1900, most all mission contract schools in Minnesota had been terminated.

The anti-native language rule had an effect on the employment of Chippewa within schools in Minnesota. With regard to the replacement of Chippewa employees by whites from the regular civil service by the Indian office at Red Lake School, the superintendant of that school remarks:

> This action of the Indian office was extremely fortunate for this school. While I am in favor of the employment of Indians in Indian schools as far as practical, my experience has taught me that their employment in positions of responsibility and especially in schools of their own tribe, does not prove generally satisfactory. Out of nine Chippewas employed here during this year, five were failures, some worse than failures. Children in these schools will not talk English to Chippewa employees.[33]

The Twentieth Century

Federal Domination: 1900 - 1911

> It was not a mere sentimental policy which actuated the government in furnishing supplies and subsistance to these peoples, but it was simply a recognition of the justice of their claims to be given support by those who had taken from them their means of existence. Such a policy, however, is not a perpetual one, for, continued too long, the tendency would be to pauperize a race capable of receiving and appropriating the benefits

of civilization. In consequence of this, under liberal appropriations, schools have been organized where Indian pupils may be trained through heart and head and hand the duties of citizenship, which is the privilege of every person in this country. The educational system is therefore a broad and comprehensive one, and includes not only that which is taught the white boy and girl in our public schools but also that which they learn at the fireside and in Christian homes.... This policy, by force of circumstance, is based on the well-known inferiority of the great mass of Indians in religion, intelligence, morals and home life. Their theory and practice of existence has been antagonistic to that of the more fortunate whites, who have behind them long ages of slow and successful progress and struggle for supremacy.[34]

> The Reservation was not intended as a place where these savages could be merely disarmed, nor to surround them with a wall to be built each year higher and higher by their own pauperism and idleness, forever to debar them from active participation in the duties of life and citizenship; nor were they to be permitted to wander as vagabonds, gypsylike, over the country, a nuisance to the people and themselves, dependent upon public charity. Fitted neither by heredity nor education to be the architects of their own destiny through the mediums of manual labor, as all such people must be, it was necessary that they should be placed upon these reservations, not for the purpose of forming or re-forming the gnarled and knotted character of the old Indian seasoned by generations of warfare and antagonism, but to prevent him from interfering while the government could secure the necessary time to mold the individualism of his children under the enlightened influence of schools established for their benefit.
>
> When this result has been accomplished, the necessity for Indian reservations will cease.
>
> The entire educational system of the Indian office is therefore predicated upon the final abolishment of the anomalous Indian reservation system.[35]

The above quote ,more than any other this author has encountered covering this period,explains the federal government policy which developed in bits and pieces from the 1870's. The policy outlined above is almost verbatim the opinions about the education of Indians of federal employees working in Indian schools in Minnesota as revealed

during summer workshop sessions at Detroit, Michigan, in July, 1900 sponsored by the National Congress of Indian Educators and the National Education Association.

Charles L. Davis, Superintendant of White Earth, Minnesota states:

> The purpose for which the government engages employees in the Indian service may be generally expressed to teach, protect and govern a people more or less ignorant and dependent. The Indian service differs from other governmental services in that the employees are not so much the servant of the public, but have a yet higher duty to perform in that they must become teachers, guardians, foster parents of a different race whom it is desired to convert into self sustaining individuals and prepare for membership in our body politic. The more perfect the instruments, the quicker and more perfect will be the amalgamation.[36]

E. C. Scovel, Teacher, Cass Lake, Minnesota:

> We must "mold the charges in our care to a higher plane of life, to a better and more useful citizenship."[37]

Such was the task of Federal educators in the State of Minnesota at the turn of the century: to culturally, socially, religiously and, of course, occupationally change all Indian people into something that would fit American society. It just so happened that at the turn of the century, Christian farmers with a protestant ethic formed the bulk of the American social jigsaw puzzle into which Indians were forced to fit. The role of educators was to cut and reshape the Indian piece to the puzzle so that it would fit.

This was done on a national level through a series of government stepping stones in the form of many different types of schools. The idea was to give the child the necessary English skills and background in day schools so as to prepare him to go to the Reservation boarding school where he was to get the necessary background material and skill to go on to the non-reservation school. The idea, of course, was to increase the distance not only in culture but also in miles of the student from his home and reservation as he grew older.

The non-reservation school was the focal point of this whole effort. It had in it a component called the outing system, which was designed to allow (force) an Indian student to live with whites, and to complete the government one-way educational trip for Indians.

The Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1899 in reference to the purpose of non-reservation schools states:

> The purpose of Carlisle, Phoenix, Haskell and others, is through the outing system to train boys in farming, stock raising and other kindred industries, while the girls receive practical instruction in dairying, cooking, housewifery, etc. in order that they may find permanent homes among farmers and others in civilized communities.[38]

However, this design was not to be completely effected in Minnesota, though the intentions of federal agents and school supervisors were the same.

Federal Indian education reached its high point in 1908 in the number of students enrolled and ended as the sole force in Minnesota Indian education in 1911 when many students began to attend public schools.

The short eleven-year period between 1900 and 1911 represents a period of federal domination in Minnesota Indian education. This period has two features. The first is the climb in the numbers of students enrolled in government schools (which reached its all-time peak in 1908), and the second is the day school experiment which encompassed a three-year period.

The federal climb in enrollment doubled in the eight-year period from 1900 to 1908 (see figure 1.) Though these figures are not very accurate they do show a trend and the fact that even at the peak of enrollment the government still was not serving approximately one half of the total possible student population of the period.

To give a feeling of what it was like in the federal schools, I have included in this paper the full report of Inspector E. B. Linnens, concerning the conditions at the White Earth Boarding school. Though this report is rather extensive, paraphrasing it would not do justice to what was said.

Hon. Secy. of Interior

Inspector E. B. Linnen's report,
White Earth Agency, 1909

Section B -- White Earth Boarding School

The White Earth Boarding school is located on the White Earth reservation about half a mile from the Agency office. There are ten buildings at the said school. Six are constructed of brick and four are frame structures, and are in fair condition. One general sewerage system, being a six-inch main, discharges into a lake about half a mile distant. The water supply is good, the water being pumped by a steam pumping plant from a well into a large storage tank which tank is in rather poor condition. The school plant is lighted by an acetylene gas plant which is in good condition. One large coal shed about thirty by one hundred twenty-five feet is now being built which will have a capacity for about five hundred tons of coal, the estimated cost of same being five hundred dollars. In the course of a year I estimate that a new storage water tank for said school water system will be required to be placed on the present substructure, with a storage capacity of about six hundred barrels. The water supply is good, the water system adequate for the needs of the school; the sewerage system is in good repair and adequate for the present requirements.

The buildings are heated by three separate heating plants; the main dormitory and school building proper are heated by separate low pressure steam boilers. The employes' quarters are heated by the means of a hot water boiler. These systems are in good repair and adequate for the requirements, but there is a considerable waste of fuel by maintaining three systems which if combined into one for heating the whole plant from a single point would mean quite a saving in fuel.

The attendance at this school which was last year about an average of two hundred is decreased this year to about one hundred forty-five by reason of installing single beds for the pupils, giving sufficient air space, etc., in accordance with the requirements. The pupils are about equally divided in number as to boys and girls, a large majority of whom are half bloods or less than half bloods.

The employes of said White Earth Boarding school are as follows:

Leonidas L. Goen	Principal	$1000	per annum
Oscar O. Warden	Disciplinarian	660	
Authur G. Wilson	Teacher	660	
Margaret Glover	Teacher	660	
Myrtle Sanderson	Kindergartner	660	(Temporary)
Mary C. Short	Matron	600	
Mary H. White	Asst. Matron	540	
Isabelle Goen	Seamstress	520	
Anna Mahoney	Laundress	520	
Mary Mashek	Baker	480	
Rose Sosseur	Cook	540	
David Van Wert	Farmer	600	(Temporary)
Christoph H. Liche	Carpenter	600	
Joseph Hamlin	Shoe and H. Mkr.	500	
Joseph L. Saice	N. Watch	500	
John D. Lambert	Engineer	800	
Gabriel Saice	Laborer	500	

I have made a careful inspection of said school and conditions existing therein. I have found that Principal L. L. Goen is wholly incompetent and incapable of conducting said school in a proper or satisfactory manner.

Accompanied by Spec. Agt. Moorehead I found the following conditions to exist:

From twenty-five to forty per cent of the children, both boys and girls, were dressed in dirty and ragged clothing, which was particularly true of the girl pupils. At this time the warehouse contained a great number of suits to outfit the boys and numerous bolts of goods from which to manufacture dresses for the girls. No clothing was being issued to the boys who were ragged, dirty and unkempt, and there were no dresses made or on hand in the seamstress division to supply the girls many of whom were wearing old, ragged, dirty dresses, which should properly have been burned up. When these children were lined up preparatory to marching into the building many of them presented a more needy appearance than the inmates of the average foundlings' home.

In the dining room we found the table cloths to be exceedingly filthy and dirty, and torn, and to be covered with old porcelain dishes badly chipped, cracked, broken and in dreadful condition, in which undoubtedly lurked numerous disease germs. There was but about half enough knives to supply the children, no tea spoons, and many of the children did not even have forks. Many of them were eating their victuals and meat which they could not cut out of their hands, while some were waiting for the others to finish so that they could use their knives and forks. Not

one table in a room in which were one hundred fifty-four children was outfitted with knives, forks and spoons. The dining room was in charge only of the disciplinarian and a detail of Indian girl pupils who were waiting on the tables. The kitchen was wholly deserted except by the Indian girl pupils, the cook and baker eating their meals at the messhouse and paying no attention whatever to dishing up the food or looking after the kitchen during the meal hours for the children.

There are no new table cloths made although there were several bolts of goods for same in the warehouse, and there was a sufficient number of new dishes, knives, forks and spoons to issue; and these old dishes should have been condemed long ago. The disciplinarian told me that he had repeatedly called the attention of Principal Goen to these conditions and asked for new table cloths, dishes, etc., without result. The principal immediately supplied new dishes, knives, forks and tea spoons upon my request that he do so at once and condem the old worthless, dilapidated dishes, several of which Spec. Agt. Moorehead took with him to Washington for the purpose of showing the Honorable Commissioner of Indian Affairs. New table cloths will be supplied as soon as they can be made. There was not even hooks for the boy pupils on which to hang their hats when they went to their meals in the dining room, but their hats were strewn around the sidewalks, porches and halls adjoining said dining room.

In the boys' washroom the towels were filthy and while individual towels were supposed to be used, not sufficient oversight of same was maintained, so that the boys were using each others' towels and continuing to spread trachoma, twenty-seven per cent of which was then prevalent in said school which was prior to Dr. Richards examination. There was not a sufficient number of towels.

The girls' dormitory was in good condition and the beds looked clean and neat, but in the boys' dormitory we found ten beds on which were dirty, soiled, filthy sheets caused by the boys who had wet the beds; they were expected to sleep on the same because there were no other sheets to replace these filthy ones. At the same time the warehouse was well supplied with sheeting and toweling from which to make these very necessary articles.

In the basements of the school building proper and the dormitory building, where are situated the heating plants, bushels of ashes were raked out in front of the furnace doors and left on the floors, spreading dirt around the basements which were unclean and unkempt. In the attic over the school building we found some one hundred seventy-five or two hundred single school desks which had been supplied some two years ago for use in said school

and had never been used but were stored in this attic and the old double seats were still in use. I requested that these be at once removed and put in order to replace the double seats, which is now being done. In this attic were old rags, clothing, mattresses and other worthless articles and refuse, accumulating germs, the same being a good place where bacilli and cultures might be made.

The bathing facilities are not good, as the children bathe in large tin tubs located in small cell like rooms.

The laundry appeared to be in fair condition except that the laundress needed a larger detail to properly perform her work and complained that she was compelled to perform private work for the mess.

The engine room was in fair condition and the boilers seem adequate to heat the necessary water for the buildings and furnish power for the pumping plant, laundry, etc. The heating plants in the basements of the school and dormitory buildings seem sufficient to perform their requirements but said basements should be cleaned from ashes and kept in good condition.

The carpenter shop was well equipped but the carpenter is dissatisfied with his position here and stated that principal Goen interferes with him and attempts to direct the way he should do his work although said principal Goen knows nothing about carpentry and the construction of buildings. The carpenter now desires a transfer as he cannot get along with the principal.

On the several visits I made to the school room the temperature was eighty or eighty-five degrees and it was necessary to open the windows to cool off. Better judgement should be used in operating the heating plant.

In view of the fact that many of the children are dismissed from said school because of trachoma and tuberculosis, the policy of saving the old clothing of pupils to issue to the new children installed to save the Government a small expense I believe to be unwise and a menace to the health of the children and should not be followed.

Thus you will observe that the seamstress, who is the wife of Principal Goen, did not have made up a sufficient number of sheets, towels or dresses for the girls although there was an abundant supply of goods for such purpose in the warehouse, and that the principal would not remedy these matters or issue the necessary clothing to the boys or supply the dining room with the necessary knives, forks, spoons and good dishes although the warehouse was well supplied with same. The conditions which existed in the dining room of the boarding school are a disgrace to the Government service.

The employes of said White Earth Boarding school do not seem to be able to get along with principal Goen, or to be able to work under him but they are continually asking for transfers to other points or resigning their positions because of their inability to work under him. Of the present employes the following persons have just recently entered their duties here:

Arthur G. Wilson	Teacher
Mary H. White	Asst. Matron
Mary Mashek	Baker

while Myrtle Sanderson and David Van Wert, kindergartner teacher and farmer respectively, are temporary employes.

The following employes of said school are dissatisfied and have complained to me of the treatment accorded them by Principal Goen, and have asked to be transfered:

Oscar O. Warden	Disciplinarian	
Mary C. Short	Matron	
Mary H. White	Asst. Matron	
(now desiring to be transferred to the Wild Rice River Bdg. School.)		
Anna Mahoney	Laundress--dissatisfied	
Margaret Glover	Teacher	ditto
Christofph H. Liche	Carpenter	ditto
(desires transfer)		

The following is a list of separations from the White Earth Boarding school from July 1st, 1908, to October 1st, 1909:

Date of Separation			Per Annum	
2-25-09	William Anywaush	Disciplinarian	600	
11-30-08	Ida A. Dalton (Illness of mother)	Matron	600	
12- 4-08	Beatrice M. Johnson	Asst. Matron	540	Temp.
11-16-08	Bertha Mayr (Resigned, discontented)	Laundress	520	
11-17-08	Charles Mayr (Discontented)	Engineer	800	
10-26-08	Frankie J. McNeil (Discontented)	Baker	480	
6-16-09	Sophia Rice (Transferred)	Cook	540	
7-25-09	Robert B. Anderson (Small pay)	Farmer	600	
12-31-09	Gabriel Saice	Carpenter	600	Temp.
11- 7-08	Frank Beane (Discharged, drunk)	Assistant	300	
12-31-08	Alfred Gregory (Resigned, discontented)	Laborer	500	

11- 8-08	Theodora Davis (To attend school)	Baker	480	
10- 6-08	Ellen E. Sexton (Resigned, discontented)	Matron	600	
10- 6-08	Marie A. Ginsbach (Discontented)	Laundress	520	
10- 1-08	Clara Baker	Cook	540	Temp.
7-13-09	Anna Bellefeuille (To go home)	Baker	480	
2-25-09	Gertrude West (Transferred)	Kindergartner	600	
11-23-08	Theodora Davis	Laundress	520	Temp.
12-23-08	Delilah Gregory	Laundress	520	Temp.
1-31-09	John Webster (No cause given)	Assistant	300	
1-31-09	Otto W. Dummert	Engineer	800	Temp.
1-14-09	Myrtle Davids	Matron	600	Temp.
3-22-09	L. Bertha Bunn (Advised to resign)	Asst. Matron	540	
3-14-09	Grace A. Warren (Discontented)	Laundress	420	
3-14-09	Wm. Maxwell (Discontented)	Engineer	800	
5- 5-09	Robert B. McArthur (Resigned)	Diciplinarian	660	
4-30-09	Sophia McArthur (Resigned)	Assistant	300	
6-30-09	Myrtle Davids	Kindergartner	600	Temp.
4- 4-09	Otto W. Dummert	Engineer	800	Temp.
5-31-09	Grace A. Warren (Discontented)	Asst. Matron	540	
5-28-09	Eucher Bellefeuille	Engineer	800	Temp.
7-25-09	Josie S. Anderson	Asst. Matron	540	Temp.
9- 2-09	Chester A. Wage (To attend school)	Teacher	660	
9-27-09	Eda Julia Dahl	Kindergartner	600	Temp.
8-18-09	Wm. H. Ledeboer	Engineer	800	Temp.
8-15-09	Gus. Holstein, Sr. (Small pay)	Assistant	300	
9-26-09	Wm. Sprace	Baker	480	Temp.
9-16-09	Meliea Van Wert	Asst. Matron	540	Temp.

This shows that thirty-eight employes have been transferred or have resigned during one school year at the said White Earth Boarding school, the majority of whom, as I am advised, were dissatisfied because of the treatment accorded them by principal Goen.

This continual changing of employes cannot but have a bad effect and is not in the best interest of said school, or of the service. There is lack of method, discipline and harmony, without which good work cannot be accomplished and this coupled with the other matters herein complained of show the total incapacity of said principal Goen to handle said school in a proper manner and for such reason I respectfully submit that he is not the proper person to be principal of said boarding school and I have the honor to recommend that he be transferred, together with his wife Isabelle Goen who is seamstress, to some day school as teacher and housekeeper respectively and that some competent principal, a man of experience, be promptly sent here to take charge of said White Earth Boarding school. One who will install system, dicipline, method and harmony among the employes, and who will see that the school is kept clean and sanitary in all its departments is what is required.

During the temporary absence of principal Goen his wife, Isabelle Goen -- seamstress, has been left in charge of said school, which has also caused considerable dissatisfaction among the employes of said White Earth Boarding school.

No effort was being made by principal Goen to secure for said school proper Indian children pupils; he was accepting the first pupils who presented themselves, who were generally children of mixed blood parents some of whom had but very little Indian blood in their veins, residents of Mahnomen, Waubun, Callaway, Ogema and White Earth, which pupils should very properly attend the day schools and public schools in the towns or vicinities where their parents reside. He was accepting these pupils in the face of the instructions which I gave prior to the opening of the school term that such pupils, residents of the towns and villages adjoining properly belonged in the day schools or could take advantage of the public schools and that he should make an effort to secure pupils from out-lying districts, children of half bloods, full bloods or near full bloods, whose education would otherwise be neglected. This has been rectified to some extent.

As heretofore stated, twenty-seven per cent of the pupils had to be turned out of this boarding school because of trachoma which seems more prevalent among the full bloods or near full bloods on this reservation.

There is a fine garden in connection with said boarding school in which is raised an abundant supply of vegetables, which garden is well kept and is a credit to the institution. Likewise, said school is provided with a team and an extra horse, and a dozen or fifteen cows which supply milk for the pupils. During the vacation term said herd of cows is not properly handled and not much dairying done to provide butter for the pupils of said school.

It takes between seven and eight hundred tons of coal per year to heat said plant and about one hundred cords of wood for the ranges and other stoves in use. The blacksmith shop, carpenter shop, and the harness and shoe repair shop are running, which supply some instruction for the boys. However, the blacksmith is an Agency blacksmith rather than an employe of said school although he performs his work at that point and gives instruction to some of the boy pupils.

The printing office is not being operated because of lack of any person who is familiar with that trade.

The main buildings are good, substantial brick buildings and are well equipped to handle from one hundred forty to one hundred fifty pupils each year. The supplies furnished are generally of a good character and sufficient.

I believe the employes generally of said school to be competent and of good habits and morals. They seem faithful and attentive to their duties and if properly handled would render good service.

RECOMMENDATIONS

I have the honor to recommend:

That Principal L. L. Goen and his wife, Isabelle Goen -- seamstress--, be at once transferred to some day school as teacher and housekeeper respectively;

That a competent man, a principal of experience be sent here to take charge of said White Earth Boarding school.

Respectfully submitted,
[signed:] E. B. Linnen
U.S. Inspector,
Dept. of Interior

Day schools, according to national policy, were to be used to prepare students for the Reservation boarding school. However, between 1908 and 1911 in Minnesota, day schools became a method of government education to be used instead of the reservation boarding school. These day schools were centered on small reservation towns and other areas of Indian population concentration. Day schools were located at Buffalo River, Beaulieu, Nett Lake, Poplar Grove, Old Agency and Squaw Point. During this period, total government enrollment actually declined; however, this was due mainly to the rapid decrease in non-reservation boarding school enrollment during the same period. As day school enrollment grew, reservation

reservation boarding schools experienced a corresponding decrease in enrollment size. The federal government in its attempt to bring in its own version of a "public" school type of education for Indians opened the door to rapid decline in its program of Indian education.

STATE PUBLIC SCHOOL EDUCATION and the MINNESOTA INDIAN

Though one traditionally thinks of state Public school education coming into existence in 1934 with the Johnson-O'Mally Act, the Minnesota Indians' experience with state public school education begins in 1870.

Following the Sioux Uprising of 1862, most of the Sioux and Winnebagos either escaped from Minnesota or were hung, shot or driven out of the state. However, a significant number of Sioux (considering the climate of white attitudes towards Indians) and some Winnebago remained in the state. Some remained in small communities in southwest and southeast Minnesota while others dispersed themselves through southern Minnesota.

On September 30, 1871, the Hon. H. B. Wilson, Superintendant of Public Instruction for the State of Minnesota, states that there were 16 male and 16 female Indian students in Minnesota public schools and that out of the 609 Indians living off reservations, 178 male and 192 females were illiterate.[39] (This represents 60.7% of the total population.)

Considering the situation of the Minnesota Chippewa at this time and later population figures for the "remnant" Sioux of Minnesota, the number 609 is fairly accurate for the number of Sioux in the state in 1871, and it suggests that those students in public schools were Sioux also.

In 1899 a special dispersing agent reported that there were 907 members of the Medewakenton Sioux in Minnesota. He stated that out of

this 907, less than 200 were full-bloods (22%). They were located at this time principally in St. Paul, Shakopee, Eggleston, Hastings, Wabasha, Morton and Redwood Falls.

In reporting on the condition of these Medewakantons, the agent states:

> They are all practically self-supporting and are engaged in different pursuits from farming, railroading-steamboating to trades and professions.[40]

As national policy at the turn of the century, the government did grant contracts to public schools for co-education of Indian pupils with whites,the first occurring on July 17, 1890. However, the Federal government felt it impractical to place Indians in public schools because of Indian cultures, particularly languages and religion. In view of what the Indian "needed", it was felt that he must first become civilized, before the public schools could be used. "It is clearly apparent--that the groundwork at least of Indian education must be laid under government auspices and control", wrote one early Indian school superintendant.[41]

In a letter to J. H. Lewis dated April 17, 1899, Superintendant of Public Instruction of Minnesota from A. O. Wright, Superintendant of Indian Schools, Mr. Wright states that for landless Indians living off reservations "the U.S. government offers $10 and a quarter tuition in public day schools of the State where Indians live in this district, to encourage the legal school authorities in securing the attendance of Indian children." However, Mr. Wright goes to state at this ealy date:

> Boarding schools have been the most effectual means of educating the Indian children --- The purpose of the government is as soon as possible to make these Indians into civilized Christians-self supporting educated citizens, speaking the English language and conforming to the customs of our civilized life in every way. The present is a transitional period, and when Indians become fully citizens, their schools will have to

> come under the care of the state, so that their education at present cannot be a matter of complete indifference to the State of Minnesota, although it is at present in charge of the federal government.[42]

The real shift in Indian education came when the State of Minnesota ignored the reminder from the Superintendant of Indian schools that the federal government had charge of Indian education. The state legislature took it upon itself to pass a 1910 Act which included "$15,000 for the maintenance of public schools on Indian reservations or on territory previously occupied as such."[43] Though these schools were not primarily for Indians, they did provide an alternative educational avenue which had been virtually unavailable for Minnesota Chippewa prior to this. In addition, whites who had infiltrated allotted reservations also began to develop their own schools. These factors in combination with the government day school experiment as opposed to reservation boarding schools between 1908 and 1911 caused a rather unexpected phenomenon to develop.

From 1911 until 1922 enrollment figures show an almost one to one replacement of government school student enrollment with public school student enrollment. Also, it is interesting to note that State public school education allowed a greater proportion of Indian students to attend school than was possible with the other schooling arrangements.

This "switch-over" in type of school caused the federal government to start spending Chippewa monies elsewhere. Where, prior to 1922, Chippewa money set aside for educational purposes by treaties and the 1889 law had been spent in support of the expensive reservation boarding systems (largely ineffective in reaching most of the Indian student population), this policy had changed considerably by 1920.

The Interior Department appropriation Bill hearings in the 1920's seem very similar in scope and direction to modern hearings concerning

Johnson-O'Malley funds and Federal Impacted Areas funds. The Appropriation Bill for 1925 included $10,000 for "construction and maintenance of additional public schools in connection with and under control of the public school system of the State of Minnesota, said additional school buildings to be located at places contiguous to Indian children who are now without proper public school facilities" and $35,000 for payment of tuition for Chippewa Indian children enrolled in public schools of the State.[44]

All these moneys which were directed for construction and maintenance of additional public schools and the payment of tuition of Chippewa children in public schools came out of funds created by Sec. 7 of An Act for the Relief and Civilization of the Chippewa Indians of Minnesota. Though this money always was earmarked for educational purposes, nonetheless it was Chippewa money and not general federal money.[45] It would be interesting today to investigate and determine how many public school facilities in northern Minnesota were actually bought by Chippewa money and are now considered the property of whites. If these facilities can be identified, it would be fascinating to see if Indians are refused representation on school boards.

By 1934, this pattern of federal subsidy of public schools serving Indian children was sufficiently acceptable to allow passage of the Johnson-O'Malley Act, which remains the principal Indian-oriented educational legislation to this date.

FOOTNOTES*

[1]Warren, William W., "Warren's Notes on the Chippewa. Part 1," The Minnesota Archaeologist, Vol. XII, number three, July 1946.

[2]Ibid., p. 67.

[3]Ibid.,

[4]Spencer, Robert F., and Jennins, Jesse D., et. al., The Native Americans, Harper and Row, N.Y., 1965, p. 400.

[5]Governor's Human Rights Commission, Minnesota Indian Citizens, 1965, p. 16.

[6]Ibid.

[7]Ibid., p. 17.

[8]Ibid.

[9]R.C.I.A., 1899, p. 3.

[10]Minnesota Historical Society Manuscripts Department, Letter dated Office of Indian Affairs, January 22, 1850, O. Brown to J.P. Bardwell.

[11]Keppler's Laws and Treaties.

[12]Ibid.

[13]Beaulieu, Theo. H., The Land Allotment Question of the Chippewa of the Mississippi on the White Earth Reservation, Geo. D. Hamilton, Printer, Detroit, Minnesota, 1900, p. 1.

[14]R.C.I.A., 1853, p. 61.

[15]R.C.I.A., 1899, p. 3.

[16]R.C.I.A., 1874.

[17]R.C.I.A., 1876, p. 489.

[18]R.C.I.A., 1876, p. 490.

[19]R.C.I.A., 1887, p. 14.

* The abbreviation R.C.I.A. in these footnotes refers to the Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs for the years cited.

[20]R.C.I.A., 1887-1890 statistics.

[21]Minnesota History, Summer 1952, Vol. 33, No. 2, M.H.S., p. 60.

[22]R.C.I.A., 1887.

[23]R.C.I.A., 1890.

[24]R.C.I.A., 1876, p. 483.

[25]Ibid., p. 485.

[26]Minnesota History, op. cit., p. 60.

[27]Governor's Human Rights Commission, op. cit., p. 30.

[28]R.C.I.A., 1901, p. 457.

[29]Beaulieu, op. cit., p. 1.

[30]R.C.I.A., 1887, p. 20.

[31]Ibid.,

[32]R.C.I.A., 1899, pp. 29-30.

[33]R.C.I.A., 1899, p. 213.

[34]Ibid., pp. 3-4.

[35]Ibid., pp. 6-7.

[36]R.C.I.A., 1901, pp. 485-486.

[37]Ibid., p. 467.

[38]R.C.I.A., 1899, p. 7.

[39]42nd Cong. 34d Sess., Report of the Commissioner of Education 1873, Report of H.B. Wilson, Minnesota Supt. of Public Education, 1871.

[40]R.C.I.A., 1899, pp. 207-208.

[41]Minnesota Executive Documents, Vol. 4, 1911-1912, Letter (copy) A.O. Wright to J.H. Lewis, dated April 17, 1899.

[42]Ibid.

[43]Ibid.

[44]68 Cong., 1st Sess., Hearings Interior Dept. Appropriation Bill, 1925, pp. 309-310.

[45]Ibid.

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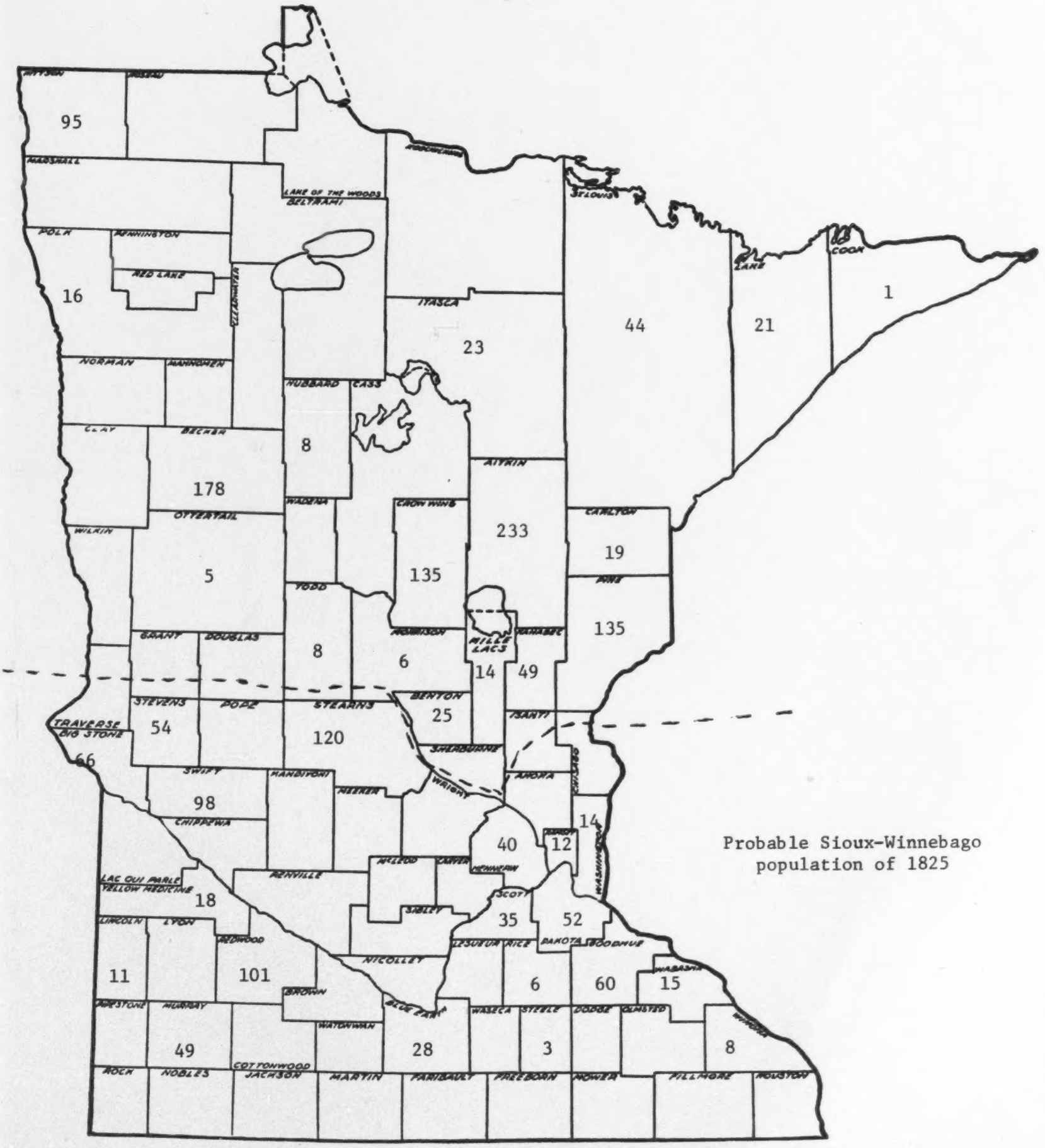
42nd Congress, 3rd Session, Report of the Commissioner of Education, 1873.

68th Congress, 1st Session, Hearings, Interior Dept. Appropriation Bill, 1925.

Appendix

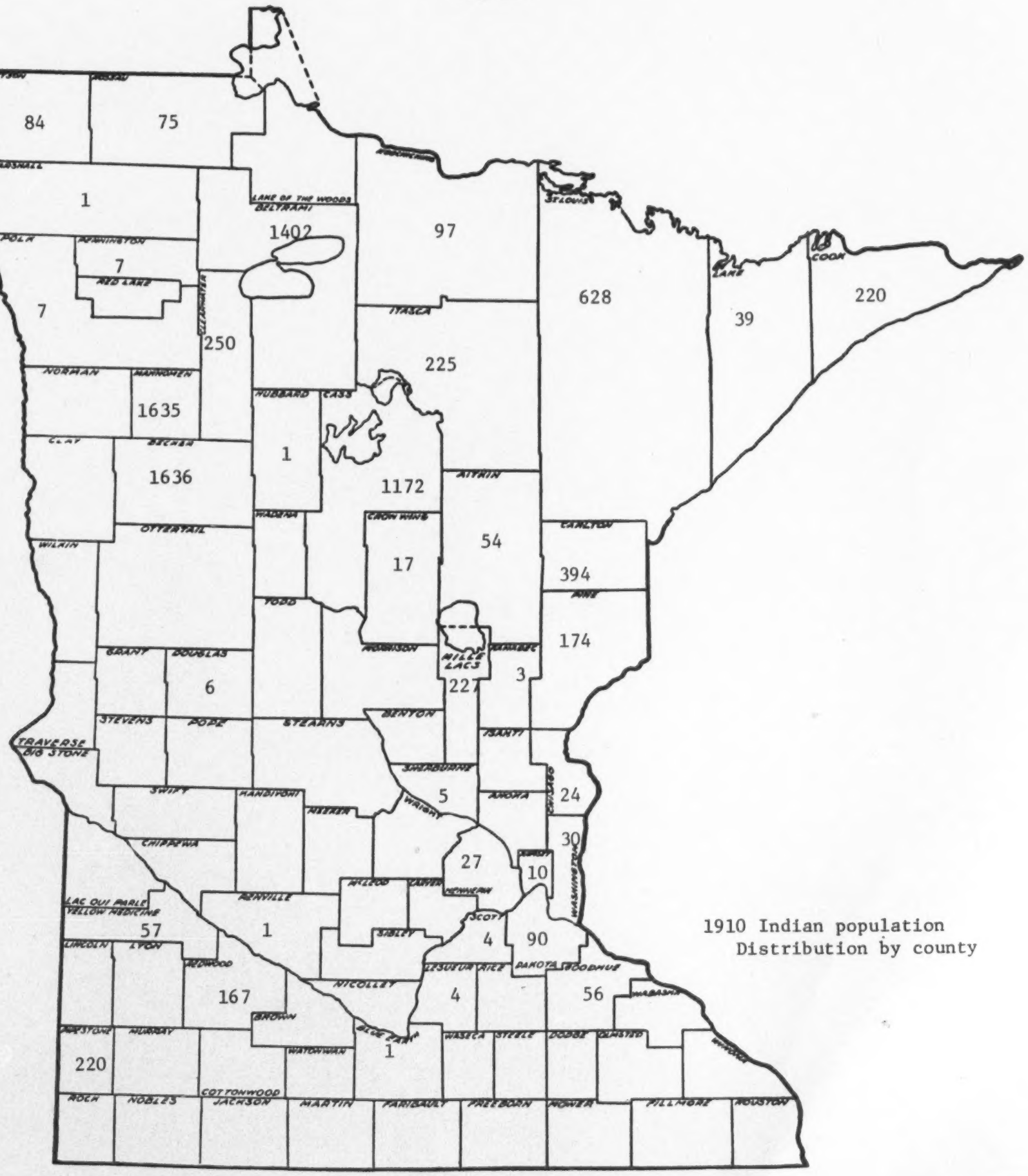
Map I



Probable Sioux-Winnebago population of 1825

Total Indian population of 1890 - 10,996

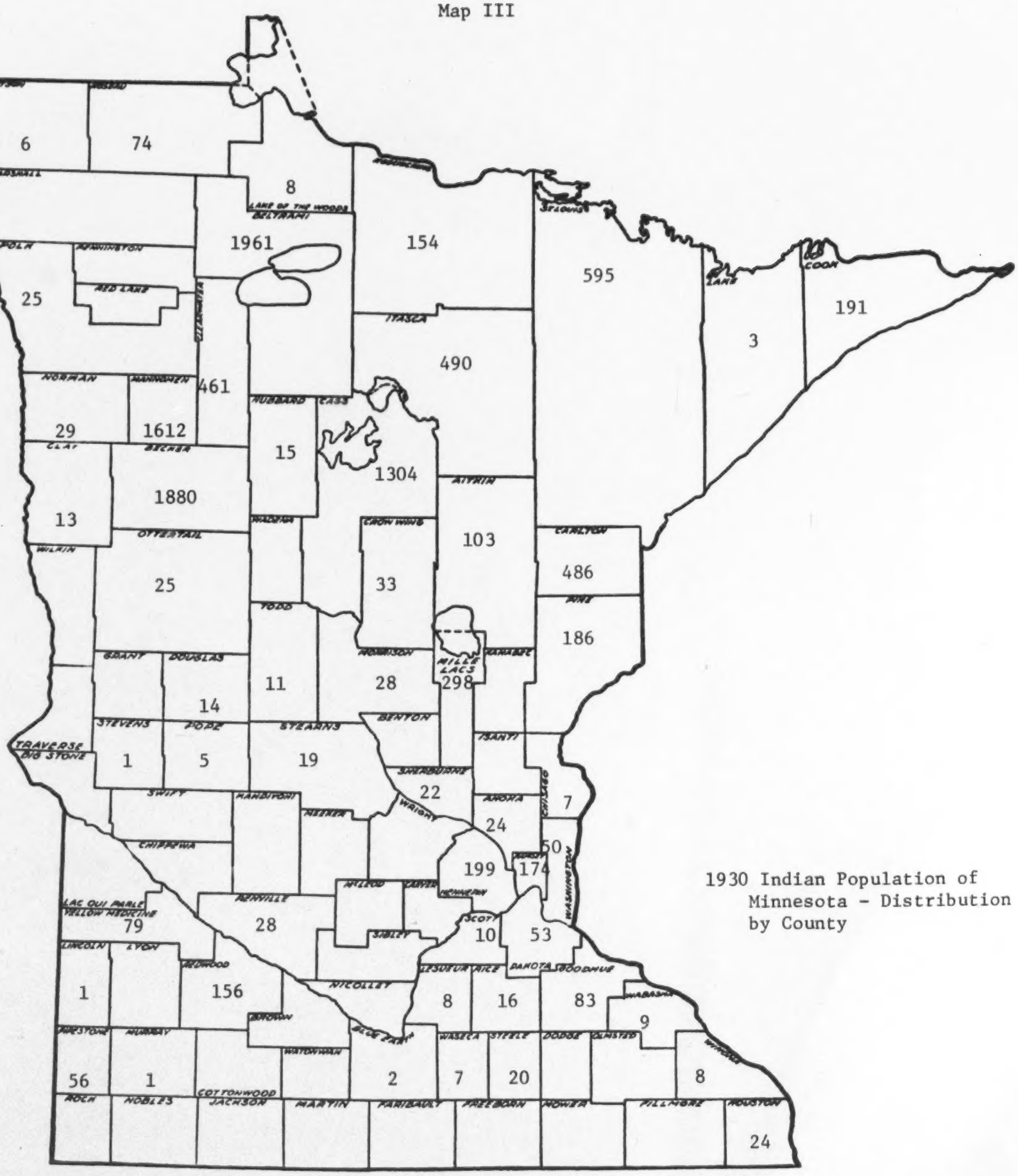
Map II



1910 Indian population
Distribution by county

Total Indian population -
9058

Map III



1930 Indian Population of Minnesota - Distribution by County

Total Indian population - 11,077